I: Tew E-4 (no date) 1958 FT7 Tao FT7

I. REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE

TAO, MAKUA-LOMWE, MAKONDE

In the region between Lake Nyasa and the east coast of Africa, between the Lukuledi river in the north and the Zambesi in the south, there is a congeries of peoples whose culture is very similar over the whole area. They are the *Makonde* group, the *Yao* and the *Makua-Lomwe* peoples. Of these only the Yao has been studied in detail. The sparse information about the other inhabitants of the region will be summarized after the fuller summary of the Yao material, so that points of similarity and difference may appear more clearly. Fortunately for this procedure the Yao occupy a central position, from which they may be taken to represent in many ways the culture of the neighboring peoples.

The *Makonde* inhabit the Makonde plateau between the Lukuledi and Rovuma rivers (39° and 40° longitude). Closely related to them are the *Mawia*, on the plateau of that name, south of the Rovuma; the *Mwera*, north of the Lukuledi river, on the Rondo plateau; and the *Matambwe*, in the Rovuma valley. It is possible that the *Pijindo*, *Ndonde*, and *Ndendeule* should also be included. This group seems to be culturally and linguistically distinct in several points from the Makua and Lomwe, and the Yao, although they have in common the main features of political and social organization.

The region of the *Yao* is between the Rovuma, Lujenda, and Luchilingo rivers. They also extend into Nyasaland and Tanganyika Territory.

The *Makua* occupy the area between the Lujenda and Lurio rivers and the coastal strip from the mouth of the Lurio nearly to Quilimane.

The *Lomwe* are sometimes regarded as a sub-branch of the Makua, but probably have as much right to be called a separate tribe as the Yao. They are bordered by the Makua on the north, east, and south, and by Mavvi on the west. South of them, around Quilimane and east of the Milanje mountains, are the *Chuabo*, related to the Makua and Lomwe, and also the Podzo, on the south bank of the Zambesi delta.

The region is forested lightly or heavily, and varies in character according to the elevation, soil, and humidity. The coastal belt from Mozambique northwards has thorn-bush vegetation, thick in parts, giving way to light forest and grassland further inland. In the uplands there is good forest, broad-leaved and evergreen, and deciduous trees near the lake district. Throughout the territory there are narrow strips of richer vegetation along the watercourses, and along the coast mangrove swamps occur at intervals. In the highlands the mornings and evenings are cool and pleasant for eight months of the year, and it is even cold at night in May and August, temperatures of 50° and 60° F. being common in the day. In the hot season the heat is severe, especially in the valley of the Rovuma. The mean annual rainfall for Mozambique is 39.50 in. and for Likoma on the lake, 59.9 in.*

The people are primarily cultivators, but the Yao keep cattle in the highlands. Both Yao and Makua traded with the Arabs and were energetic slave-raiders. The coast Makua and most of the Yao are Islamized.

* *c. government re do.* * *Handbook of Portuguese East Africa, 1920, pp. 68-70.*

[P.1]

All these peoples have in common the following points of social organization: matrilineal clans, matrilineal marriage, residence in small villages under independent chiefs or headmen. They have elaborate initiation schools with circumcision for boys, and initiation without an operation for girls. It is mainly by variations in the initiation rites that their cultures can be distinguished from one another. They also distinguish themselves by linguistic variations and by cicatrizations. This is the region of the pelele, or lip-ring, although Yao do not wear it.

THE YAO

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

Synonyms, etymology

The name of the tribe is spelt and pronounced in a variety of different ways: Yao, Ayo, Veiao, Hiao, Wahiao, Wahiau, Wahyao, Ayawa, Myao, Achawa, Wajao, Adjao, Mujoa, Mujaoa, Achawa, Adwa, Mudiao. Sometimes they are referred to by the name of one of the sections of the tribe or of one of the leaders: e.g. Amachinga, Amangochie, Mamasinga (also spelt Amamasinga and Amamasinga), Chiwala, Kavala, Kalanje, Mdavala.[1]

Centre of area

The Yao claim a hill called Yao, near Mumbo, between the Rivers Lujenda and Luchilingo, as the original centre from which they dispersed. The main body of Yao is in Portuguese East Africa, and there are large settlements in Tanganyika and Nyasaland.

(a) *Portuguese East Africa.* The two main divisions of Yao in Portuguese East Africa are around Mumbo and around Mbarika, on the Lujenda river.[2] Immediately south of the lower Rovuma and at its mouth there are two smaller groups. The Yao occupy most of the territory between the Msinje, Luchilingo, and Rovuma rivers in their upper courses.[3]

(b) *Tanganyika.* Yao entered Tanganyika Territory at two separate periods. In the 1890's they immigrated into Masasi, Chirimo, Newala, Tunduru districts and around Mikindani and Kyerega.[4] The other two groups are more recent comers: one (about 3,000), were taken as war-captives by the Ngoni in Songea district; the other (about 25,000), in the upper Lukuledi valley in Lindi district. They came in from Portuguese East Africa about 1900.[5]

(c) *Nyasaland.* There are four main groups of Yao:

(i) The largest group lives in the Southern Province, in upper Shire, and south Nyasa districts.

(ii) The second is near Blantyre, Chiradzulu, Zomba.

(iii) A small group is settled in a belt on the west coast of Lake Nyasa at Domira Bay.[6]

[1] Duff, 1919, p. 1 n.; Stefanowski, p. 1900, p. 107; Abdallah, 1919; Barnes, 1879, p. 8 n.
[2] Handbook of Portuguese East Africa, 1918, p. 181. [4] Johnston, H. H., p. 1899.
[3] Young, p. 1900, p. 140. [5] Handbook of Portuguese East Africa, pp. 96, 81.
[6] Barnes, 1879, p. 108; Lewis, 1900, p. 21; Stefanowski, p. 1900, p. 189.

REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE

(iv) Another group is on the south-west side of the lake, north of the Ngoni at Dedza and east of the Ngoni of Ncheu district.[1]

Although these are the main concentrations of Tew, smaller communities are scattered through most of the districts of south Nyasaland.

MAP SHOWING MORE IMPORTANT SITES CONCERNED WITH THE INFILTRATION

Distribution of Tew shown as a percentage of the population of each district
(1931 Census)

Over 20%	South Nyasa	25%	
	Upper Shire	24%	
10–20%	Blantyre	18%	
10–20%	Chiradzulu	18%	
	Zomba	16%	
5–10%	Dedza	9%	
	Dowa	8%	
	Mlanje	8%	
	Cholo	5%	
1–5%	Chikwawa	3%	
	Ncheu	1·5%	

Rumour

Nothing is known of the history of the Tew before their settlement at Mumbo.[2] Their contact with the Arab traders from the east coast had probably continued for one years before the Europeans arrived.[3] When Lacerda wrote in 1798 the Tew were

[1] Cadenguru, *Hdb.* p. 310.
[2] Swann, n. 1910, p. 251; Hodoli, 1919, p. 1; Warren, 1910.
[3] Livingstone in 1861 noted the strength of Arab influence.

plateau is in the same group of languages as Makua, Nkonde, and Tumbuka, but not with Makonde. He counts Ngindo as a dialect of Yao.[1] Guthrie places it in the Makonde group, but not in the Makua-Lomwe group.[2]

The Yao language shows very little dialectical variation, which is attributed to the age-long Yao love of travel. Such differences as occur are found chiefly in accent or idiom, not in grammatical structure. There are five different divisions corresponding to the different branches of the tribe: (a) *Amahale*, near the sources of the Rovuma; (b) *Mponde*, near Mataka's, south of the Rovuma; (c) *Mwanenga*, near the south end of Lake Nyasa; (d) *Mangochi*, near Blantyre; (e) *Machinga*, on Mounts Chikala and Zomba.[3]

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Yao boundary on the west, where they mix with Nyanja peoples of the east lake shore, is a line of hills about 1,500 ft. above the lake level, extending south to Mangochi. Starting north-east from the fertile valley of the Mandimba, there is a fairly level plain, watered by other tributaries of the Lujenda, as far as Mataka's and Mwaiko. On the east side of the Luchilingo river there is a fairly continuous line of mountain fastnesses and hills, and from the source of the Mtonje to its confluence with the Rovuma, there are lines of fortresses to the east and west, traversed by steep mountain tracks. From the Mtonje source to the Rovuma the country is cut by deep streams and crowned by mountains 2,000 to 3,000 ft. high.[4] On the south bank of the Rovuma, below the confluence with the Lujenda, the country is a semi-desert, with barren stony soil, little water, and plentiful game. The Yao also inhabit the western edge of the Makonde plateau, where the valley of the Rovuma widens into a great plain. Here the southern of the Makonde plateau is denuded and the soil is barren and stony. The Makonde bush gives way to thin open forest of mimosa and other trees.[5] Most of the Yao country in the east of Portuguese East Africa is tsetse infested, but in the interior, approaching the east shore of Lake Nyasa, it is capable of supporting fine herds.[6]

South Nyasa district is mountainous in the east; the plain in the west stretches into Dedza and Ncheu districts. Owing to scarcity of water in the dry season this plain is thinly populated. The soil of the plain is sandy, except on the shore of the lake and the river bank, where it is rich alluvial soil; in the hilly parts the soil is chiplah. During the last few years the lake level has risen and on the lake shore and the banks of the Shire river water is plentiful throughout the year. Smaller rivers have enough water all the year round to supply villages. The average annual rainfall at Fort Johnston is 53 in. for the last six rainy seasons, but the general average is 58 in. The average mean temperature is 75° F. The climate in the plains and at Fort Johnston is hot and trying in the hot season, but cooler on the hills. The greater part of upper Shire district is below 2,000 ft. in altitude and hot and unhealthy. In the dry weather most rivers are

[1] Stigand, p. 82.

[2] Guthrie, p. 60. Meinhof's views of the earlier informants support Dale's classification, since they are mainly the sources on which a map based (Charbonnier, op. cit., Meinhof's Vorwort, 1909, p. xii), difficulty with the language of the Coast of Guinea has been claimed for Yao by Dr. Albert Schmitt, of Innsbruck, quoted by Gleich, 1903, p. 7.

[3] Charbonnier, p. 1909, pp. 101-102; c. 1899, p. 80.

[4] Thompson, 1880, pp. 85-98.

[5] Johnston, p. 1889.

[6] Hamilton, 1905, p. 10.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FTT Yao FTT

Topography and Surface Water

[15] [35] The Protectorate of Nyasaland lies between latitudes 09° 45′ S. and 17° 08′ S. and longitudes 33° E. and 36° E. It includes most of the surface of Lake Nyasa, the most southerly of the African Great Lakes. This dominant topographical feature, from which Nyasaland has taken its name, is part of the Great Rift Valley which runs from north to south through the territory. On the western, northern and eastern shores of the lake the coastline is fringed by great mountain masses, some of which drop sheer to the lake without a coastal shelf. In the south, the broad base of the valley forms a plain through which runs the Shire River which issues from Lake Nyasa. The western edge of the Rift Valley is fringed by the Kirk Range which sweeps north-westwards to form the Dedza Highlands. On the eastern fringe the valley forks to the east to form a plain between the Mangoche Highlands, the highest point of which is 3400 feet above mean sea level, and the great mass of the Shire Highlands, the highest point of which is 11,000 feet above mean sea level. This plain rises sharply about 800 feet in a mile or two to 2000 feet above mean sea level, eastwards from the Shire River. This forms the scarp of the Great Rift Valley. From the scarp it slopes gently to the west to the smaller lakes Chiuta-Amwambo and Shirwa which lie on the Portuguese East Africa border. Between the Mangoche Highlands and the Shire Highlands the plain is broken by the Chikala-Chomi Range which protrudes almost to the shores of the Lake Shirwa, just to the north of its centre. This range, which forms an outstanding natural feature, has played an important rôle in the history of Kawinga's followers.

The Mangoche Highlands, the ridge along the scarp of the Great Rift Valley and the Shire Highlands, here form the watershed between the rivers which flow into the Shire and thence the Zambezi, and the rivers which flow into the Chiuta-Amwambo, thence into the Lujenda and to the Rovuma River, or into Lake Shirwa which has no outlet. All the main rivers flow to the Indian Ocean. While the Great Rift Valley is well drained by the Shire River, the plain is inefficiently drained by the rivers which flow to the two smaller lakes. The shores around Chiuta and especially Shirwa are liable to inundation during the rainy season: hence the area depicted on the map is not all suitable for

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

claims to primacy, and by the ideology of the kinship system is equivalent in status. In Jalasi's area, once again, the indigenous status of the chiefdominy is shown by the *Administrative* recognition of Jalasi against Mkumba, who was a minor chief, and Nanweza, who had come to 'ask land from Jalasi', and who had to give some slaves and some ivory for his chiefdominy rights in the area.

The *relationships* of *Native Authorities* to each other to-day are thus fixed partly by the *Administrative* structure, and partly by their historical backgrounds, and I have indicated that the structure the *Administration* imposed in the Yao areas was very largely determined by the indigenous structure which existed at that time.[1] The *Administrative* system to-day, therefore, supports the traditional structure.

The five chiefdoms with which this study is concerned stretch from Zomba in the south, almost to Fort Johnston to the north-east of the Shire River. These chiefdoms are Malemia in the north of Zomba district, whose area lies along the Malosa range of mountains north of Zomba as far as Mount Chauni. Liwonde district stretches from Mount Chikala and Mount Chauni in the south to Mount Mali in the north. This district contains the chiefdoms of Liwonde and Kawinga and the minor chiefdoms under them. In Fort Johnston district which stretches from the north of Mount Mali to Lake Nyasa are the chiefdoms of Jalasi, Nyambi, Kanchi, Makanjila and an Nyanja chief Nankhumba. The chiefdoms of Jalasi and Nyambi abut those of Kawinga and Liwonde, and it is with these that we are mainly concerned.

Malemia, whose clan-name is *amondo*, was apparently the first of the Machinga chiefs to move into present-day Nyasaland from present-day Mozambique.[2] His group moved south-west past the north end of Lake Chirwa and settled for a while on Mount Mali. Malemia was closely followed by Nkata, from whom the Jalasi chiefdominy developed and whose clan-name was *amkwe*, and his 'father' Mkumba, who moved in westwards past the north end of Lake Chirwa into the Mangoche Highlands. Here, together with the help of Kawinga and Liwonde, they attacked the so-called Mangoche chiefs (Mlumbe, Chikowi, Kapeni,

[1] Chap. II.

[2] The history of this chiefdominy is set out more completely in 'An Outline of the Social Structure of Malemia Area'.

River at Mpimbi where they intended to settle. There, an old chief, knowing that their presence would cause trouble, persuaded them by tales of many cattle far away on the other side of the river, to cross over, and there they remained.

Kavinga and Malenya, then, to avoid further raids from the north went down to the Upper Shiré River near Lake Pamalombe, Kavinga going to Mvona, while Malenya stayed on the east side of the river among the Anyanja, claiming friendship with them because they have many of the same clan names. Later, Malenya moved up to the highlands about fifteen miles north of what is now Zomba, and Kavinga went to Chikala. Malenya was friendly with the Anyanja chief, Chanyasi, who was of his clan, and was therefore able to buy from him for a red blanket all the country from the Likwenu stream to the Naulindi River, a district thirty to forty miles long. There *Ale* people settled.

Kavinga was once again attacked by the Makwangwala from the north, but beat them back, after which they returned to the country whence they came — German East Africa near Lake Nyasa. The Angoni chief was killed in this battle, and the story goes that two Yao captives were told off to carry the crimsoned body back to the Angoni country for burial. As they were not provided with food for the journey, the two men began to eat the corpse. After several days, this was discovered; one of the men was killed but the other escaped to tell the tale. There were barbarous days, and the Yao relate that after raiding a village, the Angoni would leave a pot cooking on the fire with the body of a child in it, well covered with beans, so that when they had gone away with their booty and the villagers who had taken refuge in the forest returned hungry, they would start eating the beans and then come upon the body of the child, and having eaten of the joints of a human body, they would have committed a terrible sin.

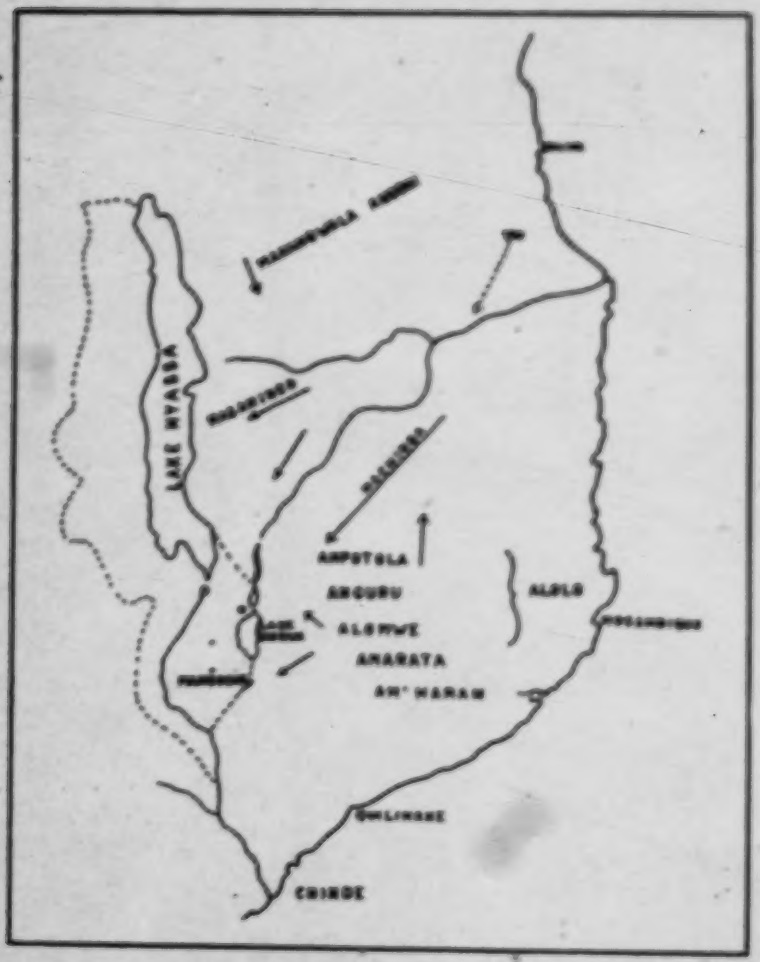
The immigration of the Amachinga into the country around Mangoche mountain caused the Amangoche Yao settled there to move. They passed into the Blantyre and Mlanje districts, and invaded the country of the Anyanja. The chief, Malenya, known as Nakotumbo died about 1880, and was succeeded by his nephew, a sister's son, according to the Yao customs. This nephew, Wandalama, then took the name of Malenya.

In consequence of this succession, there was considerable bad feeling between Wandalama and the other aspirant to the chieftaincy, his cousin, Kumtaja. The latter moved down to the plain below Zomba mountain to the north, where he gathered about him a band of friends and malcontents. Malenya decided to attack him and with this purpose, sent two messengers, Mkopiti *and Mayumbila, asking Chikusi and his Angoni to come and do the job for him. Led by Nyamoko, Njewenuli, and Kalwyi, the Angoni came from the Shiré River opposite Blantyre, via Matope. They attacked and routed Kumtaja who, owing to the thick country, managed to fall back with most of his people toward Lake Chilwa. Here he was received by his cousin, Chimombo, a son of Nakotumbo, and father of my interpreter, Chiwaya, who ruled among the Anyanja. Afterwards, he moved to Mpimbi on the Shiré where he built a stockaded village.

* Died July 10, 1910.

3: Stanford D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

101
102
● 131



[End Plate 9]

4: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7 Nyanja FT4

NOTES ON SOME TRIBES OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

By H. S. Stanner, M.B.

[With Plates XXVI, XXVII]

M Y 131

With reference to what follows, I deal with the inhabitants of the southern end of Lake Nyasa, more especially those near Fort Johnston.

M Y 563

This people is very mixed, the original inhabitants, "Anyanja," belonging to Nyanja stock, one of the many branches of the Bantu, were many times overrun by invading waves from the east, *Amangoche*, *Ajawa* (Yao), Machinga, Maravingo, and their territory at this point was also raided from the other side by the Angoni. Though the Machinga may be said to have settled here and be the ruling spirit, the people are more Anyanja than anything else, and their customs, etc., though suffering by being those of a conquered race, yet have survived in great part. These people are often called the *Nyasa*, only meaning the dwellers near the Lake, but it is a good collective name now.

M Y 128

As far as possible these notes refer to Anyanja and their customs, and added matter and Yao elements have been eliminated; for this reason they will be found to differ in some ways from accounts given by others.

M 147 182 181

Of the average native one may say that his physique is very fair; given regular work and food, conditions such as exist on some of the boats, he develops into a very fine muscular man. A man will carry between fifty and sixty pounds 60 miles in one day, or a number of days in succession covering half that distance per diem. A man could cover 50 to 60 miles in twenty-four hours. He can travel the whole day without food, and would do three or four days' march unloaded without food provided he had water to drink.

M 147 151

Sensibility to pain is undoubtedly less than in the European, *i.e.*, the native can stand pain well if he be not afraid (*e.g.*, removal of sebaceous cyst without anæsthetic, extraction of teeth, etc.), the pain seems sometimes to be deferred, *i.e.*, in cases of tooth extraction appears to be perceptible a minute after the actual operation. An inflammatory condition seems to cause them intense agony, so that I would say they do not feel pain so acutely, but they do not bear it as well as a European.

M 147 157

I would make another contrast, in fighting against disease a native will often go under from sheer apathy, whereas the white man keeps going by his nervous energy. I have seen the reverse in the case of a carrier who went through an

?: Hetherwick M-S (ca.,1900) 1952 FT? Yao FT?

SOME ANIMISTIC BELIEFS AMONG THE YAO OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

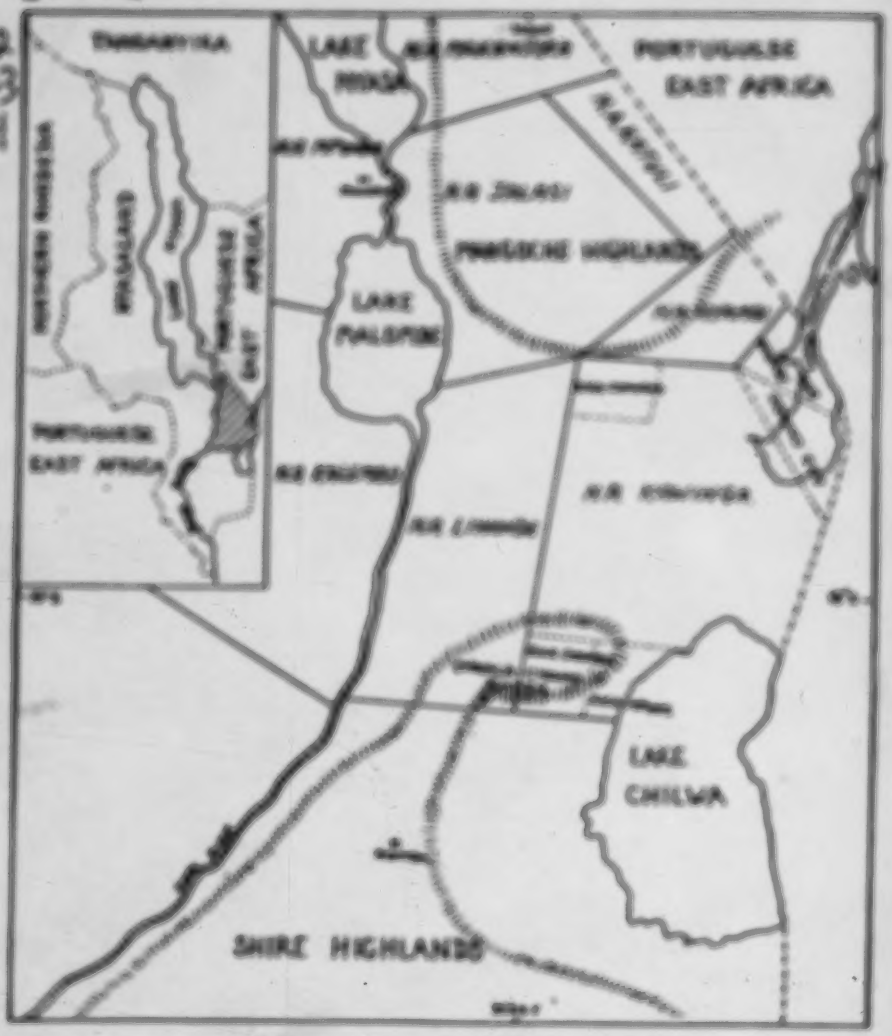
By the Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, M.A., F.R.G.S., of the Blantyre Mission, British Central Africa.

The original home of the Yao tribe may be roughly described as the large and lofty plateau which lies to the east of Lake Nyasa, and is bounded by the Rivers Rovuma and Lujenda. Forty years ago, about the time that Livingstone first entered the country, they began to be pressed on the north by the Mayanga-wank, and on the east by the Makuwa tribes. These invasions caused them to move, some westward down to the shores of Lake Nyasa or the banks of the Upper Shire River, and others northward to the Shire Highlands, Mount Zomba and the eastern slopes of Mount Mlanje. In every case they succeeded in either subjugating or expelling the original Mauri or Mang'anja inhabitants of those districts, and in no case have they lost their own independence.

Till about fifty or sixty years ago the Yao were untouched by any external influences, and when at that time the Arab and coast trader from Kilwa and Zanzibar began to trust and trade with them they appear to have been little affected by contact with these visitors. Only a few of the younger men aped at following Mohammedan tenets, and these they only grafted on to their still cherished belief in the old faiths of their fathers. The Koran, or a few of its texts, was added to the many other charms they had already hung about their necks. The faith which the first missionaries found them in possession of when they entered the country twenty-five years ago may therefore be held to be the unadulterated creed of the tribe [illegible] unconverted.

The foundation of the Yao religion is to be found in the *kindo*, the soul, shade or spirit which every human being possesses, and which is the inspiring agent in his life. They profess to give no definite description of the nature or characteristics of this soul. In their minds however it is allied with the shadow, and would seem to bear to the body the relation which a picture has to the reality. Their word for a shadow is *chiwilili*, which is also the term that they use to denote a picture, and pictures they associate with the shades or shadows of the dead. I have known natives refuse to enter a room where pictures were hung on the walls "because of the *mawilo*, souls, which were in them." The photographic camera was at first an object of dread, and when it was turned upon a group of natives they dastered in all directions with shrieks of terror. "The European,"

[P.146]



Map to show Armistice Frontier on Coast

This map is diagrammatic. In other words it shows the relative position of the ships and does not pretend to represent the boundaries faithfully.

(43) in which the District Commissioner would be
(63) the real authority with the Principal Headmen
175 as his subordinates, to carry out certain well-
(49) defined duties under his instructions. The
Principal Headmen were appointed to assist in
the administration of the law in accordance with
the new regulations concerning village headmen
and the villages they controlled. Measures for the
sanitation in the villages, sweeping and cleaning
of villages, the construction of refuse-pits and
latrines, were included in the Ordinances and the
responsibility for this devolved upon the headmen.
Village headmen were also appointed to report
crimes, abnormal illnesses and deaths, and so on.
A clause specifically stated that no power or law
[TEXT CONTINUES ??? OF P.149B]

IV. THE PRESENT
POSITION.

(43) In order to illustrate the structure of the political
175 divisions with which we are dealing, I shall
(49) outline the make-up of the three districts under
131 the Native Authorities Kawinga, Limwala and
Nyamlé (see accompanying map).

In will be recalled that Kawinga and Limwala
trace their descent from a single ancestress three
generations back from the present Kawinga and
five generations back from the present Limwala.
The groups under the leadership of these two leaders
Limwala I and Kawinga I, entered Nyamlé
land in the early part of the nineteenth century
and after various campaigns in Mount Mangochi
area migrated across the Shire River at Mvera
and took up their positions on Kawgwa hill. Here
the second Kawinga died. Shortly after this
the groups were displaced by Ngoni raids and
they recrossed the Shire River and moved south-
wards to displace another Yao chief, Makanda,
from Mount Chiuta (near Zomba), which strong-
hold Kawinga held until they were displaced
by the British attacks in 1895. Limwala at first
occupied the neighbouring range Canni but soon
moved down to the Shire River. He too was
displaced by British attacks and fled with Ka-
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.149B]

and determine petty native cases was conferred upon the headmen, though the District Commissioner was supposed to seek their advice when necessary.

Therefore, from the time of conquest a pattern of superordination of the Whites and subordination of the Africans was established and the indigenous political system remained largely without official recognition until the Native Authorities Ordinance was passed in 1933. The major change wrought by this Ordinance was that Native Courts were planned and instituted by the Native Courts Ordinance of the same year. At the same time a Native Treasury was founded.

IV. THE PRESENT

POSITION

wings to Portuguese East Africa. They were allowed to return later and they took up their positions in an area roughly outlined in the early part of this paper. At the same time, owing to military action by the Portuguese a certain number of refugees were crossing the border into the Lake Chiuta area of Nyasaland.

TABLE I

Demographic Composition of Political Areas[1]

Sub. Area	Tot. Pop.	Admin. Vills.	Av. Pop. of Admin. Vills.	Tribal Composition
N.A. Kawinga (Tonga)	23,887	311	76	
S.N.A. Cambia (Tonga)	5,119	61	84	72 20 7 1
S.N.A. Mpinie (Tonga)	4,411	60	74	49 19 32 —
S.N.A. Chiwale (Tonga)	2,202	19	116	80 15 5 —
S.N.A. Ngokwe (Mpezeni)	2,868	21	136	16 42 40 1
S.N.A. Chibwana (Mpezeni)	7,102	49	145	28 56 16 —
N.A. Liwonde (Yao)[2]	12,716	106	120	73 20 5 —
N.A. Nyambi (Yao)[2]	7,235	65[3]	116	73 27 — —

D.180

Acknowledgements are due to many African friends who have freely given me information, and especially to Mr. Bennett Mukhokobo.

The present Bantu population of the Shiré Highlands in South Nyasaland consists of four major groups:

1. The Nyanja tribe, the country's earliest known inhabitants, whose language is closely allied to that of the Sena and Tonga people on the Zambezi and the Senga on the Lowspve, but whose origin is uncertain. In 1858 Livingstone found various branches of this tribe settled throughout South Nyasaland.

2. The Yao tribe, members of whom between 1860 and 1870 were driven southwards from their home in Portuguese East Africa by the neighbouring Arabkon "Wahiko. These fugitive Yao fell upon the unwarlike Nyanja, conquered and subjugated their chiefs, and finally settling among them, intermarried to a certain extent.

3. A sprinkling of Ngoni, that branch of the *Zulu* whose flight from Chaka, wanderings in East Africa and ultimate settlement in Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa, are familiar history. In the Shiré Highlands Ngoni are found only in small scattered groups, for their real home is the "Angoni Highlands" of central Nyasaland.

4. Recent immigrants from various tribes in Mozambique, given by Nyanja and Yao the indiscriminate name of "Lomwe", (i.e., possibly, "people from Lomwe Hill") or more rudely, "Ngumi", (i.e. "people who speak indistinctly, like drunkards").

This study was made in the district around Zomba and deals exclusively with the Nyanja and Yao TRIBES, WHO TOGETHER PREDOMINATE

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE WATAO.

By Hamilton Sanderson,
Medical Officer, Nyasaland Protectorate.

Introductory.—Various writers have attempted to give English equivalents to the Yao terms describing relationship, or have alluded to the outstanding features of the system, but I am not aware that anybody has hitherto worked out the whole system.

Although it is very similar to other classificatory systems, I feel that a description of it may not be quite valueless, more especially on account of the evolutionary changes that are taking place.

The WaYao are a Bantu tribe, exogamous but not totemic, which until the middle of the last century inhabited that part of Central Africa lying to the East of Lake Nyasa, particularly in the valleys of the Lujenda and Rovuma rivers. Up to that time the tribe had not extended far from the area indicated except perhaps in a northerly direction, but owing to constant intermecine war in their own territory the Yao then invaded and conquered a large part of the neighbouring territories, especially to the north, in what is now called Nyasaland.

I have said that the WaYao are not totemic, and that statement is correct at the present time. Opinions differ, however, as to how recent their loss of totemism is; though their initiation ceremonies are generally regarded as totemic, even there, in my opinion, the evidence is not conclusive, and there remains no suspicion of totemism outside those ceremonies.

It should be mentioned that Islam is much more prevalent among the Yao than among their neighbours, but its influence is not yet so deep-rooted as greatly to obscure the pure tribal customs, except to a certain extent among the rising generation.

To facilitate description the relationships are given in tabular form, the relationship being given with reference to one man or woman.

In Table I, Column 1 describes the relationship, Column 2 gives either the nearest equivalent of the Yao term, or, if none, the actual terms. Columns 3-6 give the various relations of the person named in Column 1, as they would be named by the man or woman under consideration.

For example, the brother of (*a*)'s father (Column 1) is regarded as (*a*)'s father (Column 3), the wife of (*a*)'s father's brother is (*a*)'s stepmother (Column 3), their child a his "brother" or "sister" (Column 4), and so on (see Table I).